

NETWORK NEWS

EAST TIMOR ACTION NETWORK/US
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November 14-17

Clinton Heads to Indonesia

President Clinton will travel to Indonesia in November to participate in the APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation) summit. His visit will last three days. From November 14-15, he will attend the APEC meeting in Bogor, 40 miles from Jakarta. He then goes to Jakarta on November 16 for a state visit to Indonesia and one-on-one meetings with Indonesia's President Suharto.

The President will arrive in Indonesia in an atmosphere of intensifying military repression (see page 4) designed to silence critics of state policies. Ironically, the APEC summit coincides with the November 12, 1991 massacre of 271 people in Dili, East Timor. The military systematically fired into a peaceful crowd of independence demonstrators. More were killed as they sought treatment in local hospitals.

While President Clinton has said he will not raise human rights or other noneconomic issues in the APEC meetings, he has told Portugal's Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva that he will raise East Timor directly with Indonesia. Cavaco Silva had asked the President to support respect for human rights in the territory.

ETAN/US believes that the human rights of the East Timorese can not be fully guaranteed until their right to self-determination is respected through a UN-supervised referendum on the status of the country. This is the underlying cause of the conflict. ETAN has launched a campaign to urge Clinton to press Indonesia on concrete steps it can take on the issue (see box).

Already, a presidential aide has said that the administration does not plan to raise the issue of self-determination at all with Suharto. ETAN is urging President Clinton to reconsider this policy and to forcefully and publicly raise East Timor with Indonesia. While the administration has taken a number of positive steps in response to public and congressional pressure on the issue, Clinton's general policy has been to place trade and economic policy before human rights, democratization or other concerns. One need only

look at his reversal on China to be seriously concerned that both human rights and self-determination will take a back seat in Bogor and Jakarta.

Since he took office, President Clinton has met twice with President Suharto. In July 1993, President Clinton reportedly angered President Suharto by speaking to him about East Timor in Tokyo prior to the G-7 summit. But President Clinton was silent on the issue at the APEC summit meeting held a year ago in Seattle.

Separate letters urging Clinton to raise East Timor with President Suharto are circulating in the House of Representatives and Senate. The House letter calls on the President to "stress the concern of Congress and your administration over the human rights situation in East Timor [and] the need for serious efforts by Indonesia to make progress at the United Nations-sponsored talks as well as the need for Indonesia to agree to direct talks with East Timorese representatives under

United Nations auspices. The US should actively support United Nations moves to bring about peaceful conditions and genuine demilitarization in East Timor."

In addition to the US and Indonesia, the members of APEC are Australia, Brunei, Canada, China, Hong Kong, Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, the Philippines, Papua New Guinea, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand. Chile join APEC at the summit. The leaders of Japan, Australia, and

Canada have already said they plan to speak about East Timor with President Suharto.

Media Watch

Several thousand reporters from around the world are expected to converge on Indonesia to cover the APEC summit. Clinton will surely be asked about East Timor by the press. Many reporters have already asked permission to go to East Timor. Indonesia has launched a public relations effort to show human rights and "development" other im-

continued on page 4

November 7, 1994

Send Clinton a Message ♦ East Timor Must Be Free

On November 14, President Clinton will go to Indonesia for the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit and to meet with Indonesia's President Suharto. While in Indonesia, President Clinton should send a strong message that East Timor must be free.

On November 7, ETAN/US is urging people to call or email President Clinton. (If you can't call or email on November 7, do so when you can.) Urge him to support East Timor's right to self-determination when he goes to Indonesia by publicly:

- + calling for a UN-supervised vote by the East Timorese on their future status, as called for in UN Security Council resolutions;
- + announcing a cutoff of all arms sales to Indonesia and urging other nations to do the same; and
- + calling on Indonesia to fully respect the human rights of all of its citizens and the people of East Timor; to withdraw under international supervision its troops from East Timor; and to free all East Timorese political prisoners, including resistance leader Xanana Gusmão.

Call the White House comment line: 202-456-1111; email: president@whitehouse.gov; or write: President Clinton, 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, DC 20500. Please let ETAN/US know if you have sent a message.

Xanana Writes ETAN

"Only the US Can Tilt the Scales Our Way"

Xanana Gusmão, imprisoned leader of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), sent the letter excerpted below to ETAN before our September Steering Committee meeting.

The CNRM in exile forwarded the message — smuggled out of Cipinang Prison — and added their own thanks for the "dedicated works of all of you at ETAN.... We thank you very much for all the support you have given us during this significant last year." They and Xanana remind us that we "are citizens of the most powerful state which is in a position to effect change in the tragic case of East Timor.... As members of a democracy, you have the means to play a key role in shaping the historical process of rectifying past wrongs in the case of East Timor."

Dearest Friends of East Timor,

I will not hide my great happiness to be able for the first time to be present today speaking to East Timor solidarity groups in the great American Nation.

I will not dwell on praising the thought of American statesmen who have turned the United States into a symbol of human rights and democracy. I will only ask the American citizens assembled on this occasion to remember in this meeting the existence of a people which aspire to those same standards

which have become universal. They pray and implore that more be done to deliver it from its present situation.

If instead of Cuba or Haiti, East Timor were in the Caribbean, for the last 19 years the East Timorese would have sought refuge on American soil to escape from the atrocities of a war imposed by the colonial expansionism of Indonesia, and the persecutions, imprisonments, tortures, massacres, imposed on the population by the occupation forces.

Unfortunately, East Timor is a half-island inserted in an Indonesian ring of fire, which nowadays constitute the walls of its prison, its forced isolation and its being forgotten.

The United States condemned East Timor to the Indonesian invasion which Suharto unleashed on the 7 December 1975. The US condemned our people to extermination, when they chose to overlook the crimes committed by the occupation troops. During these long and very harsh years of occupation, Indonesian troops have been equipped with US arms.

The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait was promptly punished, while the US continued to acknowledge Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor. Haiti became a military objective for the US because of the existence there of a military dic-

tatorship which killed democracy and freedom. In East Timor, the occupationists continue to capture and torture the local population which demands its freedom....

Dearest friends of the Maubere People,

We know that only the US are able to press the red button in Jakarta, like Ford pressed the green button a few hours before the brutal and shameful invasion of 7 December 1975.

We know that only the US can tilt the scales our way. It is true that both dishes



of the scales have different contents. On our side is the blood of 200,000 East Timorese, the pain and suffering of a small defenseless people. On Indonesia's side are its credentials as the world's largest Islamic state, the 5th in population size in the world, a member of the UN and a cofounder of the Non Aligned Movement, which it currently presides, a member of OPEC and the host of APEC.

The East Timorese people gained new hopes when the Democratic Party won the elections in the US. The East Timorese people nurture the hope that President Bill Clinton does personify the spirit of liberty of the American people, and give a new dimension to the problems which only US attention may solve....

The East Timorese people recognize that significant signs of a perception of the East Timor problem by the American organs of power are beginning to emerge.

The East Timorese people are profoundly grateful to the US members of Congress who for years have been concerned by the East Timor situation, and are actively seeking to defend its cause.

Nineteen years have passed since Indonesia invaded and occupies East

Timor. We are nowadays in a time of dialogue conducted by the UN Secretary General. A dialogue which already has taken some years without much progress. The only aspect which may be considered positive is the inclusion, even if it is only indirectly, of the East Timorese in this process. It is better than nothing, but it is insufficient, because the terms of this recognition are terribly imperfect, serving mostly the diplomatic maneuvers of Ali Alatas than the actually intended dialogue.

This is a decisive phase in the struggle of our people. Jakarta continues with impunity to ignore resolutions and to minimize the agreements it signs. Jakarta continues to be insolent, because many Western countries do not wish to damage their economic relations with Indonesia.

As with all conflict, only the US possess the power to alter situations which, like that of East Timor, turn unacceptable in the face of universal standards of Law, Justice and Peace.

Dearest friends

As I said in the beginning, I can not hide my happiness to be able, for the first time to address US citizens. Bring here the happiness of my people, a happiness product of the hope its deposits in President Bill Clinton, the members of the US Congress, and the hope it deposits in you, US citizens. The confidence that the East Timor solidarity groups in the US are aware that in order to intervene and influence the US Government, concrete actions are necessary which may lead the US Government to decisively contribute to a just solution to the problem....

This phase of the liberation struggle of the Maubere people, which they anxiously follow, as the Maubere people are conscious of the difficulties raised by the economic relations between Indonesia and the great centers of decisionmaking. The Maubere people, however, also have the hope that the US may take measures to stop the insolence of Jakarta....

The Maubere people do not ask for a US military intervention in East Timor, the Maubere people ask for a 'political invasion' by President Clinton's government in Jakarta, to save it from colonial repression and from extinction as a people and a nation.

This can only happen if President Bill Clinton reminds President Suharto that it is time to efface the blood which stains the great Indonesian nation.

Long live a free and independent East Timor.

Xanana Gusmão
Cipinang Prison, 7 September 1994
On behalf of CNRM

Congress Limits Arms Sales & Military Training for Indonesia

By Charles Scheiner

A House-Senate Conference Committee agreed on a final version of the Foreign Assistance Appropriations Bill (HR 4426) for Fiscal Year 1995 on July 28, 1994. Both houses passed it in early August, and it has been signed into law. Two provisions limiting US military support to the Indonesian regime, one inserted by each House, are included in the \$13.7 billion appropriations bill. The provisions continue the ban on military training aid (IMET) and codify the State Department's ban on sales of small arms to Indonesia.

Passage came a month after the Senate rejected a ban on the use of lethal US-supplied military equipment weapons in East Timor (see *Network News* #10). Senators Russell Feingold (D-WI) and Patrick Leahy (D-VT) — outraged that Senator J. Bennett Johnston's (D-LA) had reneged on his word by moving against the ban on the Senate floor — persuaded the State Department not to oppose a statutory prohibition on the sale of "small or light arms or riot control items" to Indonesia.

This provision — unanimously approved by the Senate and accepted by the House — is the first ever limitation on arms sales to Indonesia because of human rights violations in East Timor. The small arms ban codifies and expands current State Department policy by prohibiting commercial and government-to-government sales until the Secretary of State reports to Congress that Indonesia has made "significant progress" in human rights in East Timor and "elsewhere in Indonesia," by complying with the recommendations in the United Nations Special Rapporteur's January 1992 report and the March 1993 recommendations of the UN Human Rights Commission; significantly reducing Indonesia's troop presence in East Timor; and participating constructively in the Secretary General's efforts to resolve the status of East Timor.

The IMET ban, first introduced by House Appropriations Committee Chair David Obey (D-WI), continues the ban on US military training aid to Indonesia that Congress enacted after the November 12, 1991 Santa Cruz massacre in East Timor. A House proposal that would have also barred Indonesia from purchasing military training from the US was dropped by the Conference Committee on technical grounds. Chairman

Obey has vowed to press for a cut off of the sale of training next year if the situation in East Timor does not improve. The House Appropriations Committee report declares that "It was and is the intent of Congress to prohibit United States military training for Indonesia." Representatives Nita Lowey (D-NY) and Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) were also active on the Appropriations Committee in support of East Timor.

In addition to the military limitations, HR 4426 includes a provision submitted by Senator Paul Wellstone (D-MN) to provide \$500,000 to environmental and human rights NGOs in Indonesia, with an emphasis on East Timor.

By banning both light arms sales and military training aid, Congress has put Indonesia and the world community on notice that concern over East Timor is not going to vanish as long as atrocious human rights violations and the denial of self-determination continue. Both measures are modest but important steps that build on past administration and Congressional policy. Indonesia reacted strongly to the Senate's action, rejecting any "conditions" on sales and threatening to take their business elsewhere. Human rights activists in Indonesia's European arms suppliers are using the US action to pressure their own governments to limit weapons sales to the Suharto regime.

Throughout the Congressional process, ETAN provided information and action alerts to key Congressional offices, arms control and human rights lobbyists, and activists around the US. If you can use such fast-breaking information and aren't getting our email or faxes, please let us know.

ETAN's April lobby and follow-up visits to Washington generated over a hundred meetings between Congressional staffers and East Timor activists. We plan to intensify our efforts in Washington during the 1995 legislative season.

US to Invest in East Timor

An American tuna fishing company, World Tuna Development Inc., plans to invest \$5 million in land-based fishing infrastructure in East Timor. Negotiations between the US Export-Import Bank and Indonesian banks were currently underway to provide funds provide wharf, cold storage and other facilities.

ETAN Steering Committee Meets

After a productive year of meeting by email, phone and fax, ETAN/US's steering committee (SC) met face-to-face in Westchester, New York, last September. At the meeting, the SC evaluated the past year's activity and charted the future of the organization. After updating ourselves on the issues, the SC discussed and agreed on launching several new projects.

The short-term focus is President Clinton's mid-November trip to Indonesia. ETAN's views this one of our best opportunities for getting the word out about East Timor and focusing on the need to change US policy.

Working with Congress will remain a priority. After the fall election, ETAN will begin educating newly-elected members of the House of Representatives and Senate and start pushing for new legislative initiatives. We also plan to continue monitoring the implementation of the small arms ban and IMET cut off. And we hope to repeat the success of last year's lobby days, with several trips to Washington.

ETAN is also readying a corporate campaign targeting selected US multinationals doing business with Jakarta, especially in the Timor Gap. ETAN also hopes to build strong relationships with Amnesty International chapters as they work on their Indonesia and East Timor human rights campaign (page 5). ETAN will also promote showings of the powerful film, *Death of a Nation* (see *Network News*, April 1994) and the music CD, *All in the Family* (see page 6).

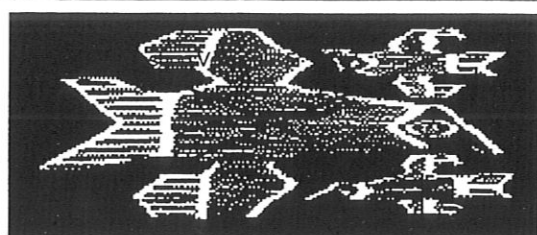
A proposal to clarify ETAN's structure was passed and is now being refined. The SC was also pleased to welcomed a new chapter, ETAN/Colorado.

Next year will mark the 20th anniversary of the invasion of East Timor and the 50th anniversary of Indonesia's independence. Both offer opportunities to elevate the issue of self-determination for East Timor. The SC stressed the need to intensify our fundraising efforts and tighten up our structure in anticipation of these historic anniversaries.

provements in East Timor. (This will no doubt intensify as the summit approaches, and a surprise announcement of a "major improvement" by Indonesia in East Timor is also a possibility.)

But the quantity of coverage provides no guarantee about its quality and *Network News* readers are urged to monitor media coverage of East Timor during the summit. The summit provides a important opportunity for letters to the editor, op-eds and phone calls to radio talk shows about the need for changes in US policy to promote self-determination for East Timor.

Letters to the editor and other contact with the media should stress the



need for not only human rights improvements, but for self-determination by the East Timorese. Remember, contacts with the media are most effective if you are succinct, to the point and polite. Contact us if you want help with letters to the editor or other media work.

Please send copies of coverage of East Timor and the APEC summit to ETAN/US APEC Coordinator, PO Box 150753, Brooklyn, NY 11215; Phone/fax: (718)788-6071; email: fbp@igc.apc.org.

Guerrillas Offer Ceasefire; Indonesia Threatens Offensive

In a message recorded on September 28 and broadcast by Portuguese state radio, Konis Santana, leader of East Timor's guerrillas fighters, announced a unilateral ceasefire. The Indonesian military responded by threatening a new offensive.

Santana had offered to extend the ceasefire "if military authorities in Jakarta answer in a positive way to the fresh olive branch," Santana declared. The Indonesian immediately rejected the peace offer as it had done with similar announcements earlier this year. It said it would accept nothing less than the guerrillas surrender.

"(The army) has prepared one battalion of special combat troops with the

duty of chasing and destroying the remaining guerrillas," Maj. Gen. Adang Ruchiatna, chief of the Udayana military command, which oversees East Timor, was quoted as saying.

Indonesian military authorities have no intention to accept any ceasefire. If they "want to surrender, whatever the numbers are, we will certainly accept them but ... there will be no ceasefire," he said.

Santana said the unilateral ceasefire would become permanent if Jakarta agreed to free jailed East Timorese leader Xanana Gusmão and hold immediate face-to-face talks "at the highest level" with the resistance.

In December 1975, Indonesia invaded the tiny half-island of East Timor. Nearly one-third of the population has died as a direct result of the invasion. During 18 years of brutal military occupation, the East Timorese have never surrendered their wish to govern themselves. The United States government provided weapons and diplomatic support throughout the genocide, and approved the invasion in advance.

The East Timor Action Network/US was formed at the end of 1991, following a massacre in Dili, the capital of East Timor. Several foreign journalists witnessed the murder by Indonesian troops of over 271 young Timorese participating in a peaceful memorial demonstration. These journalists told the world that Timorese resistance — and Indonesian murder — continue. Since then, popular support for East Timor has grown and US policy on East Timor

has begun to change.

The East Timor Action Network/US supports genuine self-determination and human rights for the people of East Timor in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December, 1960 (on decolonization), and specific UN Security Council (384 and 389) and General Assembly resolutions on East Timor. ETAN's primary focuses are to change US policy and raise public awareness in support of self-determination for East Timor.

Network News is published quarterly and sent to members and supporters of ETAN/US.

Your financial contribution is crucial to ETAN's effectiveness and success. Please make a contribution today. Tax-deductible contributions over \$50 for ETAN's educational work can be made payable to WESPAC Foundation/ETAN.

General Loses \$14 Million Lawsuit

Helen Todd, mother of Kamal Bamadhaj, the only non-Timorese killed in the November 12 1991 Santa Cruz massacre, won a \$14 million judgment against one of the Indonesian generals who ordered the killing. After a court hearing October 24 in Boston, a federal judge issued found against former General Sintong Panjaitan, who had overall command of the region that included East Timor. The hearing featured testimony from Todd, journalist Allan Nairn (an eyewitness to the massacre) and Constância Pinto (who organized the demonstration that Indonesian troops attacked).

The legal action was brought with the assistance of the Center for Constitutional Rights under the Torture Victim Protection Act, which provides federal jurisdiction over acts of torture and summary execution, regardless of where they are committed. Todd said that the award "is symbolic of the full horror of what was done there to everybody, not just my son. That's why I pursued it. I'm not interested in money. It's a small step but I think all these little steps will add up." Todd plans to share any money collected with the families of the 271 victims of the 1991 massacre. (ETAN/US has an audiotape of the court testimony. \$10 from ETAN/US)

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The trial of José Antonio Neves — an East Timorese underground leader based in Indonesia — began in mid-October. Neves was arrested last May at the main post office in Malang after allegedly trying to fax a message from Nino Konis Santana to the APCET conference in the Philippines. Neves, one of the leaders of RENETIL, the main Timorese youth movement. He is accused of waging rebellion to separate East Timor from Indonesia and contacting organizations abroad, among other charges. His attorneys have called on the court to drop the charges. One of his lawyers said that "According to international law, seeking support is not a crime."

* * *

East Timor's outspoken Bishop Belo has accused Indonesia of carrying out a "systematic sterilization program" of East Timorese women. Belo told a Lisbon radio station that Jakarta's policy is to cut the birth rate and replace the local population with immigrants who support annexation of the territory.

Amnesty Launches Indonesia/East Timor Rights Campaign

"Tourist brochures on Indonesia show a country thronging with happy people in an idyllic setting; financial institutions portray the country as an emerging economic success story.... Amnesty International documents another reality — a country ruled with an iron rod, where dissent is punished by imprisonment, torture and death."

With these words, on September 28 Amnesty International (AI) launched a six-month long international campaign against human rights violations in Indonesia proper, and in Aceh, Irian Jaya and East Timor. The campaign aims to create a public image of Indonesia as a human rights violator.

AI is especially concerned about the imprisonment of peaceful protestors and activists under a wide ranging Anti-Subversion law (students, journalists and trade union organizers and women are featured); systematic torture of criminal and political detainees, extrajudicial execution and "disappearances," and the use of the death penalty.

AI is calling for an end to the climate of impunity in which human rights violators operate in Indonesia. There must be investigations, trials and punishments of perpetrators. AI is calling for amending and eventual abolition of the

Anti-Subversion Law, abolition of the death penalty and for creating an Open Prison Register (this would prevent "disappearances" and protect detainees against torture during periods of unregistered detention). AI is also calling on Indonesia to permit unrestricted access by AI and other international human rights organizations to both Indonesia and East Timor.

Indonesia has reacted angrily to AI's report. Foreign Minister Alatas called AI's allegations untrue and accused it of conducting "counterproductive political campaigns."

Local AIUSA chapters around the country will engage in a wide variety of educational and other activity from writing to Indonesian officials to showing campaign videos and lobbying Congress and the administration to making their presence felt in the streets. A photo display and two videos are available for public events.

Several dates will serve as focal points for public activities: November 11-15 (including the November 12 anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre and Nov. 11-15 APEC meetings in Jakarta which President Clinton will attend. December 10, Human Rights Day will focus on work against torture. March 8 (International Women's Day)

will highlight cases of women, tortured, killed or imprisoned in Indonesia and East Timor

ETAN/US is cooperating with AI on this campaign and encourages ETAN activists to work with AI chapters. (ETAN can provide speakers, videos, print materials, and other resources to people learn about human rights violations by the Indonesian military inside East Timor.) However, ETAN's mandate for East Timor is broader than Amnesty's, in that we work for political self-determination for the people of East Timor in a referendum to decide between integration, independence, and association with Indonesia. This human right is guaranteed in Article 1 of the International Covenant on Economic Social, and Cultural Rights: "All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social, and cultural development."

AI has published a major report, *Power and Impunity: Human Rights under the New Order* (126 pp., \$8, available from ETAN). For more information on the campaign, contact: AIUSA Campaign Department 322 Eighth Ave., New York, NY 10001.

Indonesia Meets the Resistance

They hardly agreed on anything, but on October 6, Indonesia's foreign minister met openly for the first time with leaders of East Timor's resistance movement. All the participants met in their personal capacities. Although Alatas rejected all of the proposals from East Timorese, the two and one-half hour meeting represented a breakthrough.

"We are open to a dialogue without preconditions and we have started today," said José Ramos Horta of the CNRM. In addition to raising the issue of self-determination, the Timorese pressed for internationally-monitored troop withdrawals from East Timor, release of political prisoners, and the permanent presence of the United Nations in the territory.

Indonesia also gained by showing the appearance of flexibility. The meeting, held in New York was an outgrowth of ongoing UN-assisted talks between Portugal and Indonesia. João Carrascalão, President of UDT and José Luis Guterres, head of the External Fretilin Delegation, along with Ramos

Horta, met with Foreign Minister Ali Alatas.

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In mid-July, the UN special committee on decolonization received a day of testimony on East Timor from 28 organizations and individuals in 11 countries.

Speaking on behalf of ETAN/US, Charles Scheiner urged the committee to "help push the Indonesian government into serious negotiations — beyond talks for appearance sake only.... East Timor should not have to start a third decade under Indonesian military rule." While "some in the Administration and in Congress defend the status quo ... afraid of affecting American companies' profits from trade, mining and weapons sales in Indonesia,... an increasing number feel differently...."

For the first time, a member of the US Congress submitted testimony to committee. Rep. Nita Lowey (D-NY) said through an aide that the US "must take a strong and coherent stand against the Indonesian presence in East Timor." But since 1975, adminis-

trations "have weighed economic and military goals against humanitarian ones, believing that cooperation with the Indonesian government would induce it to expand human rights." This approach has failed, she said.

The US and the UN "must now take a stronger stand.... Indonesia must be made to recognize that the human rights of the Timorese, and of its own citizens, are nonnegotiable. Only a referendum among the East Timorese themselves can legitimately determine their status," Lowey said.



All in the Family: Music for East Timor

An elegantly produced new compilation CD of Australian rock bands in support of East Timor has garnered widespread public attention. Down Under among music fans who otherwise may not have given much thought to the killing and cultural destruction unfolding on their doorstep. The CD, *All in the Family: A Compilation for the Children of East Timor*, has the potential to spark a similar wave of interest here in the US, but the assistance of ETAN members across the country is crucial to getting air play on local radio stations and having it stocked in local music stores.

All in the Family feature 20 tracks by Australian rock bands, some of which, including Midnight Oil, Frente! and Crowded House, are well-known in America. In "Kolele Mai," Peter Garrett of Midnight Oil repeats Timorese poet Borgia da Costa's refrain "Who is really to blame?" over the haunting voices of a Timorese choir. Da Costa set his revolutionary lyric to a traditional funeral song that seems so cheerful one would never guess the tune is actually a dirge. Nicola Quilter & the Choir of Faith & Hope's "Cry Freedom," composed especially for this CD, delivers a building vocal tension which is released in a rhetorical call to action.

The CD features two tracks by East Timorese musicians. It opens with Mariano Abrantes carrying the listener into the tranquil heart of the mountains of East Timor on the crest of the sounds of his flute. Last in a line of distinguished musicians and drum makers, Abrantes now teaches young Timorese in the Diaspora his craft. Agio Pereira's "I'm Still Fighting" emphasizes the unflinching determination of the East Timorese in their struggle for freedom.

Proceeds from the CD will go to establish orphanages and scholarship funds in East Timor. The sale of 3000 copies of the CD will provide 160 promising East Timorese youth with annual secondary scholarships. The project is the initiative of Paul Stewart (of the Australian band Painters & Dockers) whose brother was one of the journalists killed during the Indonesian invasion.

Death of a Nation

is available for benefit showings. If you interested in arranging a showing contact:
ETAN/US, (914)428-7299 for details.

All in the Family is a professionally produced effort, complete with attractive liner notes. The CD would fit easily into the international or world beat section of independent music stores.

To get your local record store to carry the CD, simply express your interest and inform their buyer that it is available in the US from Phantom Distributors (714-650-7900) and TCI (612-645-0227). Tower Record chains will want to order from Bayside (916-373-2548).

ETAN/US has a limited supply available for \$15 plus shipping. Readers who want to participate in promoting this CD nationally should contact Lorne Rider at (206)522-0867 or email him at loren@u.washington.edu.

Indonesian Scholar Exposes Occupation's Impact

by Matthew Jardine

George Aditjondro's book, *In the Shadow of Mount Ramelau: The Impact of the Occupation of East Timor*, is important for a number of reasons, not least of which is that the author is Indonesian. A lecturer at Satya Wacana Christian University in Central Java, Aditjondro is the first Indonesian scholar to take such a strong, public stance against Jakarta's brutal occupation of East Timor.

His high profile has drawn attention from the authorities. Recently, Aditjondro endured 15 hours of questioning on a charge of "insulting the existing authority of the state of Indonesia with words or speech." The case grew out of a talk he gave discussing democratization and the presidential succession in Indonesia. This is not the first attempt to intimidate him. Last March he was questioned by local military authorities about his views on East Timor.

An anthropologist and Indonesia's 1986 environmentalist of the year, Aditjondro has long been acquainted with the ongoing struggle for self-determination in the former Portuguese colony. As a writer for the Indonesian weekly, *Tempo*, he was with the first group of Indonesian journalists to visit Portuguese Timor following the April 1974 Carnation Revolution that marked the beginning of the end of Lisbon's overseas empire. Extensive archival research and a return visit to East Timor in 1993 have provided Aditjondro with much of the empirical foundation of his book.

Last March, Aditjondro released two papers (previously distributed in Indonesia) in Australia detailing the environmental and socioeconomic impact of Jakarta's invasion and occupation of East Timor. Although the *West Australian* was the only paper that reported his findings, the reports had a wide impact and infuriated the Indonesian authorities due to the international publicity (see *Network News*, April 1994). Several

weeks later, Aditjondro gave an interview to the Australia Broadcast Corporation strongly criticizing the Indonesia's presence in East Timor. Hours after his return home, hooligans stoned his house, breaking a number of windows.

In the Shadow of Mount Ramelau, made up of the three essays including those released in Australia, assumes a rather high level of familiarity with the subject and is not designed for newcomers to the issue. While there is an introductory historical survey by Dr. Rudie Trienes, it is rather cursory in parts, at times awkwardly written and sometimes inexact. It wrongly states, for example, that "Only Portugal and its five former colonies in Africa brought out their vote in favour of an independent East Timor each year at the General Assembly's Resolution [sic]."

The body of the book, however, is very important. Its most novel aspects include an analysis of the human and financial costs of the war and occupation on Indonesian society. Regarding East Timor, Aditjondro details the effects of the Indonesianization of the territory in terms of agricultural production, economic self-sufficiency, forced resettlement, and the environment. He also provides a systematic outline of the Indonesian military conglomerate P.T. Batara Indra Group's increasing monopolization of the East Timorese economy and the growing economic marginalization of the indigenous population. Finally, Aditjondro offers a comprehensive look at the conflict between the East Timorese Catholic Church and the Indonesian state.

Aditjondro's book includes, by far, the most systematic attempt (at least available in English) to understand the ecological impacts of "Indonesianization." His discussion of the effects of the occupation on Indonesian and East Timorese women and children is especially interesting. While describing sexual pressures brought to bear on East Timorese women by Indonesian soldiers,

however, Aditjondro neglects the subject of rape — a well-documented and common crime of the occupying troops.

On a few occasions Aditjondro does not sufficiently justify and explain some of his conclusions. Nonetheless, his book is a great contribution to our collective understanding of East Timor. It contains much valuable new material and insightful analyses and provides news directions for further research on East Timor. Finally, given that the author is Indonesian, the book is of great

import in marking the growth of a movement within Indonesia in favor of East Timorese self-determination and a national state based on democracy and human rights.

In the Shadow of Mt. Ramelau: The Impact of the Occupation of East Timor, published by Indonesian Documentation and Information Centre in The Netherlands, is available from ETAN for \$13 plus \$2.50 postage and handling.

Chomsky Film on Video

"Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky & the Media," which includes an extensive section on East Timor, are now available. The two-tape set is \$59.95 plus \$6.95 shipping for private (individual) use by calling (800)626-8266.

Groups can buy copies for public showings (no commercial showings, no cable TV), for \$79.00 plus shipping. Order from Zeitgeist, (212)274-1989.

Resources

Books

☐ **In the Shadow of Mt. Ramelau: The Impact of the Occupation of East Timor.** By George J. Aditjondro. Well-documented articles by a courageous Indonesian professor. 96 pp. 1994. \$13

☐ **Power and Impunity: Human Rights under the New Order.** By Amnesty International. Detailed report on human rights violations in Indonesia and East Timor. 126 pp. \$8.

☐ **Indonesia's Forgotten War: The Hidden History of East Timor.** By John G. Taylor. 230 pp. UK, 1991. \$20

☐ **Telling: East Timor Personal Testimonies 1942-1992.** By Michele Turner. Oral history as told by ordinary East Timorese. 218 pp. Australia, 1992. \$20

☐ **East Timor: Getting Away with Murder.** By Hugh O'Shaughnessy. Photographic and text impressions of a veteran journalist's recent visit to East Timor. 32 pp. UK, 1994. \$10

Magazines and Pamphlets

☐ **East Timor: Death of a Nation**, 1994 special issue of the New Internationalist magazine on East Timor, edited by John Pilger. \$3.50

☐ **Senate Testimony of Allan Nairn**, 2/27/92. Eyewitness account of November 1991 Dili Massacre. \$1

☐ **The East Timor Issue Since the Capture of Xanana Gusmão**, by Herb Feith of the East Timor Talks Campaign (Australia). 37-page summary of major developments since late 1992. December 1993. \$3.50

☐ **Report from the Asia-Pacific Conference on East Timor**, by Charles Scheiner. Illustrated account of the landmark APCET meeting that Indonesia tried to stop. June 1994. \$1.50.

Periodicals

☐ **East Timor Documents:** compilation of reports, analyses, press releases,

media articles and primary materials from global sources, approx. 120 pages per bi-monthly issue. \$25/issue postpaid (\$10 for educational institutions, less for the movement). Add \$3 for air mail. Six-issue subscriptions encouraged.

☐ **Network News**, ETAN's newsletter reports current developments in East Timor, US policy, and the movement for East Timorese self-determination. \$10/year.

Other

☐ **U.S. Weapons out of East Timor** button. \$1 each. 75¢ each for 10-24; 50¢ each for 25 or more.

☐ **Free East Timor** square button with photo of young Timorese girl. \$1

☐ **Indonesia Out of East Timor.** Bumper sticker. \$1 each. 75¢ each for 10-24; 50¢ each for 25 or more.

☐ **T-shirts:** "East Timor: Indonesia's Killing Field" or "East Timor: To Resist is to Win" with photo. "End U.S. Support of Indonesian Genocide" on the back of both. Medium, large and extra-large. Specify design and size. \$13

☐ **Postcards.** Photos of Timorese life. Set of six, \$2.

Videos & Audio (All videos 1/2" VHS)

☐ **All in the Family.** An elegant and eclectic compilation by Australian bands and East Timorese musicians. Profits to East Timorese orphanages and scholarships.

☐ Enclosed please find my donation to support the work of the ETAN.

☐ \$500 ☐ \$125 ☐ \$60 ☐ \$35 ☐ \$

☐ Enclosed is \$ for my resource order (including 20% for postage; 15% for orders over \$50.)

☐ Enclosed is \$10 to help cover the costs of receiving **Network News**.

☐ I can be an ETAN Key contact. ☐ Put me in touch with others in my area.

Name

Address

City/State/Zip

Phone Fax E-mail

72 minute compact disc. 1994. \$15.

☐ **Massacre: The Story of East Timor.** Award-winning radio documentary by Amy Goodman and Allan Nairn, broadcast Nov. 12, 1993. 40 minute audiotape. \$8

☐ **East Timor: A Case of Genocide.** Audiotape of April 1994 talk by journalist Allan Nairn sponsored by ETAN. 60 min. \$11, tape. \$7, transcript.

☐ **East Timor: Turning a Blind Eye.** Paper Tiger TV's video about US policy and the role of the media. Taped during ETAN's Spring 1993 New Generations of Resistance speaking tour. 30 min. \$20

☐ **Aggression & Self-Determination.** The US role and what you can do to change it. Produced by ETAN, 1992. 28 min. \$20

☐ **Cold Blood: The Massacre of East Timor.** British documentary including footage of the November 12, 1991 massacre. 55 min. \$25

☐ **Xanana.** The human side of the East Timorese resistance leader revealed by people who know him (for noncommercial use only). 30 min. \$25

Send orders to ETAN/US, PO Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602. Please add 20% for postage and handling to all orders. (15% for orders over \$50.)

Coming Events

Monday, November 7

Nationwide Call and email President Clinton (see front page)

Thursday, November 10

Washington, DC Demonstration at Indonesian Embassy, 2020 Mass. Ave., NW, 5 pm. ETAN/DC (301)589-9071.

Friday, November 11

New York City Interfaith Memorial Service to Commemorate the Santa Cruz Massacre, 2 pm, UN Church Center Chapel, 777 UN Plaza (44 St. and First Ave.). ETAN/NY (718)788-6071.

Los Angeles Commemoration at Indonesian Consulate, 3457 Wilshire Blvd., Noon. (Also several showings of "Cold Blood" have been tentatively scheduled, call for info). ETAN/LA 310-450-5375.

San Francisco Vigil at Indonesian Consulate, 1111 Columbus Ave., and other events. ETAN/SF (415)647-6820

California's Election Dilemma

California ETAN activists feel like they are between a rock and hard place in the contest for US Senate. The Republican candidate Michael Huffington is spending a fortune made from exploiting Indonesian oil. In 1986, the family company, Huffco, was fined \$250,000 by the US Department of Commerce for illegally exporting unlicensed police equipment, including electric batons routinely used for torture in East Timor.

Meanwhile, ETAN has also been protesting incumbent Senator Dianne Feinstein's political support for Indonesia. In late August 1994, ten members of the ETAN Los Angeles greeted the Senator at a \$1000 a plate Beverly Hills fundraiser with placards calling for an end to US military and economic support for Jakarta's occupation of East Timor. One banner read "Feinstein Sup-

Saturday, November 12

Boston Constância Pinto will speak at Amnesty International's human rights conference. Univ. of Mass/Boston. Contact: ETAN/Boston (617)646-6393.

Portland "Death of a Nation" benefit showings at the Clinton St. Theatre, 2522 SE Clinton. Contact: ETAN/Portland (503)235-4986 or (206)944-4029.

Thursday, November 17

Seattle "Death of a Nation" will be shown at the Seattle Human Rights Film Festival. ETAN/Seattle (206)547-7802.

Wednesday, December 7

New York City Demonstration on anniversary of Indonesian invasion of East Timor. Contact ETAN/NY (see above)

January 1995

Seattle and Portland Constância Pinto will speak at various events. Contact ETAN/Portland and ETAN/Seattle (see above)

Indonesia Flaunts East Timor's Resources

The First Energy Indonesia Outlook conference will bring together high-level Indonesian officials with US oil and mining company representatives in Houston. Discussion at the three-day event — sponsored by the Consulate General of the Republic of Indonesia, the Indonesia American Business Association, and the East-West Center — will no doubt include the exploitation of oil from the Timor Gap. Oil which rightfully belongs to the people of East Timor.

ETAN/Texas will hold a demonstration on December 7 outside the conference venue (the Wyndham Warwick Hotel) to protest Indonesian expropriation of East Timor's oil wealth and to warn companies about buying stolen property (if they don't already know). December 7 is not only the conference's kickoff day, but also the 19th anniversary of the invasion of East Timor (coincidence or arrogance?). Demonstrators will meet in Houston on evening of December 6 to prepare for an early setup the following morning.

For more information, contact: ETAN/Texas: Patrick Brooks (713)952-7267 or Gordon Banner (512)339-8265; email: g b a n n e r @ igc.apc.org.



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